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BECOMING A TEENAGE PROSTITUTE

IN SPAIN AND THE U.S.A.


by

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PREFACE

In November 1985, as a result of generous sponsorship by the Italian government (Ministero degli Interni) and the European Policy Unit of the EUI, a conference was held in Florence on "The prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency among girls in the EEC: towards an evaluation". Seventy-two scholars and practitioners attended, from eleven different European countries. The purpose of the conference was to celebrate the United Nations Year of Youth by constructive discussion about how and why girls and young women come to the attention of the criminal justice and welfare systems, how they are treated, and how practices for the care and control of girls and young women might be improved.

The value of comparative work of this kind was amply demonstrated both theoretically and in terms of policy and practice. The big lack was clearly of studies designed and intended for comparative purposes. The 27 conference papers collected together in ten EUI Working Papers (of which this volume is one) reveal both these strengths and this need.

Theoretically what was surprising and of importance were the similarities between countries with very different cultures and political economies in the way girls and young women are treated. Their employment prospects are everywhere worse; their sexuality is heavily policed by their male and female peers, with the ultimate sanction of non-marriageability to a 'good' man having the potential of causing both economic and social and psychic pain. The efforts of a minority of girls and young women to break out of this cycle appear to be policed by state agencies - the welfare and justice systems - although the part played in some countries by private (often religious) agencies remains to be explored. For other girls non-conformity could not properly be understood as rebellion: but whatever its cause the directions and occasions of control were similar.

This cross-nation similarity suggests that a theoretical reduction of these constraints in the direction of familial coupling to an effect of capitalism or of class structure is not adequate, given the wide variations in political economies already alluded to.

The second important similarity which seemed to emerge - although requiring much more detailed work before adequate theorising is achieved - is that policy in relation to delinquent girls is for some matters based on boys' behaviour patterns and career paths. This emerged most clearly in relation to British and Dutch ways of dealing with drug offenders, in the contributions by Thom and Blom (WP 87/298). Such policies, being inappropriate, were also ineffective. But for the most part both court decision making and the practice of subsequent sentences were gendered. This, however, seemed to the contributors to be inappropriate too. The demand, therefore, is not for formal sameness but for appropriate differences in welfare practices in relation to girls, based on careful feminist and sociological analysis of their life spaces and possibilities rather than on male mythologies about the needs and natures of young females. It is to this end that more detailed comparative work must be directed - a project which the conference participants already have in hand.

BECOMING A TEENAGE PROSTITUTE IN
SPAIN AND THE U.S.A.

Eleanor M. Miller

Routes to hustling careers in the U.S.:
generalizations from a study of hustling
in Milwaukee, Wisconsin

p. 1

Rosa Andrieu-Sanz and Carmen Vazquez Anton

A description and interpretation of the
prostitution of young women in Bilbao

p. 29

ROUTES TO HUSTLING CAREERS IN THE U.S.: GENERALIZATIONS FROM A STUDY
OF HUSTLING BY WOMEN IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN**

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Among female street hustlers in Milwaukee there are three well-trodden and occasionally intersecting paths that lead to involvement in "deviant street networks." The first is in varied ways related to involvement in a particular domestic network; the second stems from the vulnerable position some young women find themselves in because they are runaways, and the third is the result of drug use. This paper is dedicated to a theoretical investigation of the recruitment of young women to "the fast life." Special attention will be paid to the path via the domestic network because it appears to be the one most frequently taken by women who become career street hustlers. In addition, the intersection of the domestic and deviant street networks, if not directly responsible for recruitment, may provide a setting that at the very least allows young women who actually reach the streets via an alternate route an important up-close glimpse at hustling as a life style. The theoretical discussion will be grounded whenever possible in life history data that show just how specific women, typical of those who take each of the three routes outlined, were recruited to deviant street networks.

Deviant Street Networks

Deviant street networks are characteristic of the street hustling scene. By a deviant street network I mean a selection of individuals mobilized for specific illicit ends. Such a network has fluid boundaries, has no real nucleus, and can be activated for relatively short or for extended periods of time.¹ Network activity revolves around all sorts of clever scams, but includes prostitution, petty larceny, forgery, credit card fraud, embezzlement, auto theft, drug traffic, burglary, and robbery. I would argue that only by becoming integrated into one or more deviant

**A more extensive treatment of the issues discussed here and related issues may be found in the author's book, Street Woman. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986.

¹ The definition of a "deviant street network" I use here differs from that contained in the work of Cohen by that title (1980) in the following way. There it refers to "the relationships between patterns of visible street deviance, the police, and the wider ecological and social environment" and explicitly does not include "the personal social psychological interactions among participants of a particular street condition" (4). I do not mean to suggest that police officers may not be part of deviant street networks nor that I am unconcerned with the wider social and ecological environment. However, when I use the term I intend to denote exactly that which Cohen excludes. Given the more general work in the area of social networks, the usage employed here seems more appropriate to a truly sociological work.

street networks can a street hustler "make a living by a hustle."² This is especially true for females, who are disadvantaged in terms of illegitimate opportunities in many of the same ways that they are disadvantaged with regard to legitimate opportunities.³ Deviant street networks are a source of knowledge, protection, control, comfort, and opportunity. Through them one may learn how to discover whether or not a potential victim is a vice cop by hugging him in such a way as to detect "his piece (gun), when a bust is "coming down," when an opportunity to make a "piece of money" is about to present itself, or whom to go to for health care when your very need of it betrays your involvement in some illegal activity. Deviant street networks may be a source of socio-emotional support, self-esteem, and courage. They may work to coerce an individual who attempts to hustle as an "outlaw woman" (loner) to stop or to work in a way that benefits the network. They may also seek to undermine the activities of competing networks.

The Path Via the Domestic Network

Many of the women I came to know well in Milwaukee were recruited to deviant street networks through their involvement in particular domestic networks. A discussion of the domestic network follows. It is important to note here, however, that what seems to be important in determining whether or not a young woman takes this route is the degree of intersection between the domestic network and the deviant street network and, at times relatedly, the degree to which parents and/or guardians successfully protect their daughters from being drawn into those deviant networks. Because of the severe limitations that poverty places upon the ability of all poor parents and guardians to control the circumstances of their daughters' lives, young girls from poor families are more likely to be recruited to deviant networks than are those from families that are better off. Moreover, because of the greater presence among poor blacks than among poor whites of highly developed and far-reaching domestic networks that often do overlap with deviant street networks and because of the relative lack of attractive legitimate options, black girls are, I argue below, differentially recruited to "the fast life" of the streets.

² By using street jargon here I do not mean to imply that female street hustlers "make a living" by doing what they do. Most of them have more than just themselves to support as they are also members of a domestic network that usually includes their children. Despite claims to the contrary, street life offers neither a secure nor a "good" living. Women on the street usually are also receiving welfare and may be working a "straight" job. Moreover, money must also be paid to a "man" for protection, emotional support, and often drugs and also to various agents of social control including vice officers.

³ See Steffensmeier and Kokenda (1979), for example, for a discussion of the ideas of male thieves concerning the thieving capabilities of females and their trustworthiness as partners in crime.

Domestic Networks

Several scholars have attempted to describe the emergence and operation of the social networks that arise among the members of economically and politically alienated segments of a highly stratified society (e.g., Maher 1976, Bott 1971, Suttles 1968, Stack 1975, and Valentine 1978). Such networks appear to come into being as the result of numerous and intersecting individual attempts to achieve some semblance of financial and emotional security. This is accomplished by inducing a sense of personal indebtedness in those upon whom one would like to be able to depend. The exact methods employed to achieve this desired state vary as do definitions of appropriate and beneficial reciprocators. The choice of method and partner, however, is clearly shaped by systems of stratification based on sex, race, and/or caste-like characteristics that coexist and crosscut the dominant class-based system.

In her study of Moroccan peasants, for example, Maher describes an "institution like 'kinship' or 'marriage' that affects the life of every Moroccan woman" (1976: 53). She calls this institution "the woman network" and sees it as a response to a lack of economic autonomy and a rigid segregation of women's activities from those of men. Such networks, especially among peasant women, act as buffers against the vicissitudes of the market and in a minor way channel the means of subsistence from the richer to the poorer members of kinship-based communities. This is especially crucial in a segment of the society in which, due to high rates of divorce, desertion, migration and death, men cannot be counted on as reliable sources of economic and social support for women and children. Moreover, because of the extreme segregation of the sexes, neither can women expect help from men in pregnancy, illness or childbirth. The methods employed to create the reciprocal links in "the woman network" involve a combination of sentiment and instrumentality. Because women have a common interest in giving high value to their reproductive abilities, as it is one of very few sources of power available to them, a woman can expect help from other women in all areas associated with pregnancy and childbearing. Simply by reciprocating in some small way, such a woman may then establish both herself (and her husband) on the fringe of a social circle a bit more stable than her own (52-68).

For poor Italian women, in contrast to Moroccan women, marriage is forever, and a woman's property is administered by the males in her conjugal unit. Women who do not work and have few extra-familial relationships depend much more directly on men, but especially on their children for financial security and emotional comfort in their old age and in the event of separation or widowhood. With some misogyny, Sciascia calls the methods Italian women use to control their children "emotional blackmail." In particular he notes that Sicilian women take ages to do things. Sciascia suggests that: "They want to make their very laboriousness weigh with other people. It is a way for the Sicilian women to sell her goods at a higher price and to exercise power" (as quoted in Maher 1976: 68).

The strength of these sorts of networks also obviously vary. In a classic study wherein she takes the nuclear family rather than the individual as the unit of analysis, Bott (1971) concludes that connectedness varies with the economic interdependence of the members of a network, the social ecology of the neighborhood in which it exists, the opportunities for establishing relationships outside the existing network, the physical and social mobility of the members, and their personality characteristics (101-111). It is exactly these sorts of factors, which are the direct result of physical, economic and social segregation, that promote the development of social and economic networks among the residents of the urban slums and ghettos of the United States.

The best study of these networks as they meet the survival needs of poor urban blacks is Stack's All Our Kin (1975). Participants in what she calls "domestic networks" are recruited from among one's personal kindred and friends. In contrast to the families described by Bott, domestic networks are not visible groups because they have no obvious nucleus or defined boundary. However, similar to Maher's "woman network," the cooperation of a cluster of adult females is apparent since a primary focus of domestic networks is child-care arrangements (93-94). Whereas the reciprocal relationship between female partners in Morocco is almost a client-patron one because of the inequality of resources, however, here the partners are much more likely to be equals. In addition, although sex segregation exists, it is not rigid, and men are members of domestic networks as well.

Domestic networks are established as a result of reciprocal obligations that emerge from the swapping of goods and services over time. The set of individuals with whom one has this sort of relationship and to whom one may or may not be related by blood, Stack refers to as "personal kindred" (44). As already alluded to above, an individual may also be drawn into a domestic network through shared rights in children. When a young girl becomes pregnant, the closest adult female kin of the girl, or of the unborn child, is expected to assume partial responsibility for the child. Thus, the father's female kin are potentially responsible for the child's welfare as is the young girl's female kin. If a pattern of reciprocal activity develops among these possible providers and/or between them and the child, a domestic network may result. Thus, as Stack describes it:

In the process of exchange, people become immersed in a domestic web of a large number of kinfolk who can be called upon for help and who can bring others into the network. Domestic networks comprise the network of cooperating kinsmen activated from participants' overlapping personal kindreds. Domestic networks are not ego-centered; several participants in the network can recruit kin and friends to participate in domestic exchanges. Similar to personal kindreds, domestic networks are a selection of individuals mobilized for specific ends and they can be mobilized for extended periods of time (44).

Domestic networks are then often in flux. Personnel change with the ebb and flow of economic crises and opportunities, changing life styles, and vacillating personal relationships. Household composition and obligations are influenced by these networks. They account for where people sleep, where they eat, where their children are cared for, and where they chip in for rent, food and other necessities or get bailed out of financial and other difficulties. For example, a sudden stroke of economic bad luck may be compensated for by means of the cash reserve of a temporarily better-off member of one's domestic network. One the one hand, then domestic networks act as safety nets for the poor in the event of a late welfare check, robbery, sickness, or other economic or emotional disaster. One the other hand, however, they prohibit those who might, through hard work or good fortune, achieve some equity and perhaps become upwardly mobile from doing so. To disentangle oneself would mean withdrawing one's resources from the other needy souls in one's domestic network. In a world filled with so many possible economic setbacks, this can be a very dangerous move (Stack 1975: 90-107).

Another consequence of poverty, and the adjustment to it that is the domestic network, is a relative elasticity of residence patterns. It is not uncommon for children in AFDC (Aid to Families of Dependent Children) families to grow up in a three generation household (Ladner 1971:60). Even when persons move to separate households, their social, economic, and domestic lives are so entwined with other kin that they consider themselves simultaneously a part of the residential groupings of their kin. In this situation, young women who have become mothers and are old enough to receive their own AFDC checks sometimes attempt to set up separate households with or without their children, husbands, or boyfriends. These attempts can often by short-lived because of all sorts of economic or social contingencies. Welfare regulations, however, encourage mothers to set up separate households, and young women desirous of privacy, independence and a better quality of life do so. Although it is true that women with children have far more economic security than men and women who are not linked to welfare through a child, given the possible demands of kin and a young women's own possible economic crises, this economic security is more of an illusion than a reality. As a result most young females with or without children remain living at home with their mothers or other adult female relatives (Stack 1975: 122). What results from failed efforts to achieve independence, however, as well as from setbacks such as evictions, fires, changes of life style, lover's quarrels and fights is a residential pattern characterized by relatively frequent moves within a delimited geographical area and successive recombinations of household members.

The important role of the black female within these households has frequently been noted. Her relative power is surely enhanced by the greater success of black females as compared to males in the legitimate job market and the crucial role she plays as a link between the household and the welfare system. However, both Stack (1975) and Ladner (1971) stress the cooperative nature of the relationship between male and female siblings who share the same household or live in close proximity. Jobless males, or those working part-time or involved in seasonal labor, often live with their mothers, or if she is dead, with their sisters and brothers or aunts.

This pattern continues even after men have established sexual relationships with women and fathered children. Despite all the literature on the female-headed household, male relatives, by birth or marriage, and boyfriends are almost always around such households as members, boarders or friends (Stack 1975: 104).

Household composition within this nation's ghettos, then, is complex and changes relatively frequently. The physical location of households changes as well. Furthermore, both sorts of movements are affected by and affect the exchanges and interactions that occur within domestic networks.

Domestic Networks and Deviant Street Networks: The Interface

Although the majority of the examples Stack provides of the dissipation of resources because of the pressing needs of members of one's domestic network are of sums inherited, earned as a wage, or obtained through welfare, she seldom hints that such sums might have been obtained illegally. Neither does she discuss in much depth the fact that individuals may mobilize members of their domestic networks not only to face economic and social crises and to take advantage of legitimate opportunities, but to take advantage of illegitimate opportunities as well. As a matter of fact, this is a very common way for youngsters to get a taste of hustling. Valentine argues that in the slums and ghettos of large American cities "everyone beyond early childhood has knowledge or and at least indirect contact with 'hustling' as a possible alternative source of income (1978: 23). Reports about their families by female street hustlers in Milwaukee confirm this insight. Women told of fathers who were bootleggers and mothers and brothers who "sold a little weed." They also talked about sisters and cousins who made money by having sex with neighborhood men. "Hustling," then, refers to a wide variety of "unconventional, sometimes extra-legal or illegal activities, often frowned upon by the wider community but widely accepted and practiced in the slums" (Valentine 1978: 23). It includes gambling, bootlegging, buying and selling "hot" goods, stripping stolen cars or abandoned buildings for anything salable, shoplifting, and selling drugs. Although some community members would object, Valentine feels that others would probably also include mugging, burglary, and even armed robbery (24). On the basis of life history data gathered in Milwaukee, I would suggest that one could probably safely add to Valentine's list purse snatching, prostitution, and pimping. However, here, too, it should be noted that many community members would not consider such activity part of "legitimate" hustling.

Although Valentine argues that hustling is simply one important ingredient of economic life in urban ghettos, and I would not disagree, within a particular household such activity is viewed with varying degrees of approval or disapproval dependent on a person's age, sex, occupation, religiosity, and the activity in question. This leads me to posit a theoretical model in which the membership of a household is not seen as a pool of individuals equally ready for a hustle. Rather, the intersecting circles of personal kindred, both friends and kin, that make up the domestic network may be seen as composed of some social circles that are more prone to hustling as an economic source than others, even though all may benefit, and, in addition, as cross-cut by another set of circles whose very organizing principle is hustling. These latter are

what I refer to above as deviant street networks. The fact that most of the hustling is done by young people and that males appear to do more than females makes the further specification internal to domestic networks plausible as does the fact that so many young Milwaukee women reported hiding their hustling activities from their parents or guardians. Clear disapproval on the part of these elders for hustlers who have become prominent members of their daughter's personal kindred leads me to posit the additional set of intersecting deviant street circles. One element being injected with this more differentiated model, then, is a certain internal social tension and distancing that results from the very nature of a domestic form whose existence is based at least partially on activity that is disapproved and even rejected by some of the members and on links with other social circles whose members are seen as a threat. A certain tenuous equilibrium obviously results depending on the degree of intersection of domestic and deviant street networks. This equilibrium is possible as long as economic arrangements do not lead to situations (e.g., arrests, fights) that undermine social bonds. In short, that which makes the economic survival of the domestic network possible may also simultaneously threaten its social existence.

The actual members of domestic networks who are more or less actively involved in hustling, whether or not it is combined with a "straight" job or welfare, then, are usually members of deviant street networks. Deviant street networks are linked by them to domestic networks. Moreover, I would argue that especially among young adults, there is often a goodly amount of overlap in membership so that the ties between domestic networks and deviant street networks are often strong ones. At times the two sets of networks support each other's existence; at others they are perceived to be and are a challenge. Usually, they are curiously a little of both.

After living in a ghetto area of a large northern city for five years and studying the economic situation of three families in great depth, Valentine concludes that ghetto households must combine income from jobs, welfare, and hustling in order to maintain even a low standard of living and that even this combination does not provide for economic security or mobility. A very common pattern is for individuals within households to shift from steady employment, to intermittent employment and hustling, to hustling alone, etc. This is inevitable in a community with disastrously high unemployment and underemployment rates not to mention the personal handicaps that this sort of insecurity and poverty foster, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, mental and physical illness, low educational levels, high birth rates, and temporarily female-headed households (1978: 119-133).

Although Stack (1975) and Valentine (1978) are concerned with the situation of poor blacks in particular and the anticipated and unanticipated consequences of the survival strategies they employ, I would argue that the reality they describe to some extent fits the situation of poor whites as well. This is not to say that race does not make a difference, but to argue that the effects of class have a certain homogenizing effect on behavior across races. The domestic network as a survival strategy is clearly not as developed among whites. In fact, many ethnographers of working class life document its atomistic character. Although Rubin (1976) does mention that "neighboring" is an important part of white working class life, especially for sex-segregated socializing and occasional mutual aid, it is generally relationships with extended family that are

described as the heart of working class life (LeMasters 1975, Gans 1962, Komarovsky 1967).

As opposed to a domestic network, an extended family obviously has a nucleus and definite boundaries. It may fill some of the same functions, but its nature is essentially different from that of the domestic network. Moreover, both Rubin (1976) and Komarovsky (1967) find it rare for individual wives and especially husbands to have more than one or two close friendships outside the extended family. The intricate domestic network of the black underclass clearly does not exist here perhaps because the conditions for its emergence have been relatively absent; the poverty has never been as sustained or as deep for this group, the physical segregation as rigid, the discrimination as harsh, the unemployment or underemployment as widespread, the chances for upward mobility as bleak. Another major difference is the absence among poor whites of highly developed patterns of shared rights and obligations in children. The circulation of children as a method of assuring their care, freeing mothers to bring in an income, and creating indebtedness is a crucial aspect of the domestic network among blacks. It is interestingly both a reason for its emergence and a result of its existence. In other words, the pattern has come to have a certain cultural basis in the black community that is lacking in the white. In terms of income patterns that shift among various combinations of employment, underemployment, unemployment, hustling, welfare, and crime, however, there are clear similarities between poor blacks and poor whites in large urban areas. This is apparent in Rubin's Worlds of Pain (1976) and is poignantly described by Howell in Hard Living on Clay Street (1973).

The separate discussion by race of the income producing strategies and domestic arrangements of the urban poor should not be taken to suggest that there is no interaction between the members of these two groups. Although poor whites may squeeze some little comfort out of the knowledge that at least they're not black (Howell 1973, LeMasters 1975), poor black, white, and Hispanic communities do tend to be geographically close to one another and to be integrated with one another to some extent. As a result blacks, whites, and Hispanics do become part of each other's networks. This may occur through marriage, sexual alliances, shared rights and obligations in children, or friendships that develop in the neighborhood, at school, at work, or "on a hustle." It would appear, however, that because of racism and a relative absence of domestic networks among poor whites, that the latter are more likely to be drawn into black domestic networks than vice versa. Hispanics seem the least likely to share domestic networks with either whites or blacks because of the isolating and insulating forces that derive from their uniquely deprived economic position even as compared to poor blacks, their shared ethnically-based subculture, and the fact that they speak a language different from the majority.

The Actual Mechanics of Recruitment via Domestic Networks

Whereas for adults deviant networks may form the basis for the shifting composition of domestic networks, among adolescents who are not yet integrated into deviant street networks, it is the domestic network that often is crucial for the recruitment of a young woman to a deviant street network. The importance of the domestic network in explaining the proportionately greater participation of black women in street crime should now be obvious. Young black women

have greater access to one of the three routes to "the fast life" than do white women, and, at the same time, they have at least equal access to the two alternative routes. The "pull" toward such a life choice is then greater among blacks than among whites as is the "push" from a greater number of forces working to inhibit access to legitimate opportunities. Although the "push" in terms of blocked access to legitimate opportunities is probably even greater among young Hispanic women than among young black women and although young Hispanic women also tend to grow up in extended families based on real and fictive kinship that have some of the permeability of domestic networks and thus have a greater chance of taking that route than whites, I will argue in the section on drug use as a path to street life that several factors enhance their chances of entry as a result of drug use. These include greater traditionalism in sex role definitions, patterns of heroin distribution in the United States, more circumscribed access to a variety of deviant networks, and certain elements of barrio culture.

As mentioned above, in terms of actual recruitment via domestic networks, two variables seem to be of the utmost importance: 1) the degree of intersection between the domestic and the deviant network, and 2) the degree to which parents and/or guardians successfully protect their daughters from being drawn into those deviant networks. Many of the street women in Milwaukee had started quite young to shoplift their own clothes, often with young relatives or friends, from places like Sears or Penneys. Other members of their households were involved in similar activities that brought into the domestic unit items for their own use as well as items for exchange or profit. It was not unusual for women to report that other household members bought and sold marijuana or cocaine, stolen clothes or small appliances, or bootlegged liquor. Even though some in the household might be involved in such activities, mothers and/or fathers or guardians usually reacted with disapproval to this sort of behavior on the part of their children. When elders would inquire as to where the new clothes came from most respondents reported that as little girls they lied. One woman who regularly shoplifted as a way of earning a living as an adult and supporting a heroin habit said that she used to tell her mother that she had swapped with a friend. A few mothers who were especially burdened with many children and had limited funds, were actively involved in hustling themselves, and/or were addicts or alcoholics would simply ignore the new acquisitions or issue a warning. One mother who discovered that her daughter had been sleeping with neighborhood boys for money simply said: "Girl, you're moving away too fast. You're gonna get your ass in some real trouble when you get 18." Other young girls did little or no hustling on their own or in groups as juveniles even though they saw it around them. Many of these had strictly enforced curfews and were forced to attend church frequently. This pattern didn't mean that these women didn't become involved in deviant street networks. It did mean that they didn't become involved in them directly via domestic networks, however. Another pattern that will be discussed below is one that results from attempts on the part of parents or guardians to limit their daughters interactions with negative influences in the community to a degree that is clearly far from the norm. This may have been a pattern throughout a girl's childhood or may have been initiated with the onset of puberty. In either case, one reaction to these sorts of limitations is running away which, ironically, may be an alternate route to involvement in "the fast life."

As opposed to involvement in deviant activity either individually or with friends as a young teen, most of the women who may have been said to have taken this route describe first getting recruited to deviant street networks in the tenth or eleventh grades when they were about sixteen or seventeen years old. Even when this activity did begin to be engaged in on a regular basis, however, again it was usually kept from elders as long as possible. Many parents and guardians only found out or had their suspicions confirmed at the time of the young girl's first contact with the police or even her first arrest and confinement in jail. In short, recruiters were rarely those directly supervising these young women. Even when parents or guardians were actively involved in hustling themselves, their disapproval as well as a certain age-grading and specialization of deviant networks generally prevented parents and guardians from being in the same networks. Rather, recruiters were older siblings or step-siblings, cousins, or young aunts or uncles or the personal kindred or friends of these relatives. It is important to note that slightly older domestic network members who were also deviant street network members sometimes did not encourage young women to get involved in "the fast life," however, and, indeed, at times are reported to have discouraged it. Especially older kin or fictive kin who, for whatever reason, were seen by themselves and by the potential recruit as at least informal guardians appear to have acted on occasion as gatekeepers with regard to the entry of young women into a deviant network. A girl who appears, then, through words or actions, to be interested in becoming a part of a deviant street network of even fleeting duration may be encouraged or discouraged. This seems to be dependent on her prior relationship with the potential recruiter, the commitment of the girl to becoming involved and the perceptions of the gatekeeper with regard to how inevitable it is that she will at some time live "the fast life," how appropriate the intended activity is thought to be for women in general and for her in particular, the risk of the intended activity to her person and her future and how much of an asset or debit to the enterprise under consideration she will be. Because of such reservations, young women often appear to be recruited by people who are less likely to have such reservations because they are marginal or newly recruited to the domestic network themselves. Recruitment by both kin and more marginal domestic network members occurs, however.

Parents and formal (but not necessarily legal), guardians I spoke with and observed were overwhelmingly opposed to "the fast life" for their children no matter what their race and stressed the merits of education as the key to economic success. Informants also generally reported that this was the message they had received throughout childhood. This confirms Ladner's similar finding in her study of poor black female adolescents in St. Louis (1971: 93, 139). Moreover, this was the case even when they themselves were currently, or had been at one time engaged in some form of street hustling. Rather, the permeability of the domestic network as compared to the white extended or nuclear family is, I believe, an important reason why black women take this route more often than white. No matter to what lengths parents and guardians go to keep their children untainted by street life, the greater boundedness of extended or nuclear family forms seems automatically to provide greater protection. The very system that may be responsible for household survival, then, may promote the initiation of young adults into a generally disapproved way of life simply by exposing them to more possible recruiters to deviant street networks. Within this system whether little protection from the influence of possible recruiters

or an abundance of protection can be offered by parents or guardians is one of the key factors in determining the chances a young woman has of being recruited via her own domestic network.

Often the initial recruitment as well as recruitment thereafter was described by women as rather low-key and off-hand. Just as someone might approach a group chatting in a kitchen to ask for help in moving a newly acquired couch into an apartment in exchange for a beer or simply as a gesture of friendship, so might someone be asked to help lug copper tubing pilfered from an abandoned building in exchange for a share of the profits or to help sell some stolen merchandise or some marijuana in exchange for a portion of that which was being sold. Furthermore, to be asked to participate in that which is forbidden children and might be risky was often taken as affirmation of adult status and competence. This was true even if a young woman realized, as one of my informants did; that her brother just needed her to help him cash a stolen check because the payee was a female and he needed the money quickly to make a drug deal. When he observed that she didn't get flustered when he took her to a bar to cash the check, he offered to teach her how to make money "passing paper." He showed her how to recognize income tax refund checks through the slits in mailboxes and how to pop the locks on those that had been so secured. He explained to her that this work was only seasonal, but that these checks were easier to cash than welfare checks. Most of the people who would cash a welfare check in the community were suspicious of new faces or checks payable to women with names unfamiliar to them. When a friend of this brother's needed someone to be his accomplice in credit card fraud, this fellow volunteered his sister. In this fashion, deviant street networks develop, and, after having been passively recruited, the young woman herself may recruit a sister or a friend to engage in the newly learned activity. When I met this particular woman, she had just been released from prison for forging a series of checks issued by the U.S. Department of the Treasury (IRS). Her brother and her girlfriend had been convicted of the same offense.

It is interesting to note that a girl's juvenile status, depending on the illegal activity contemplated, may also be a factor in her recruitment to a deviant street network. Street hustlers are aware of the sort of sentence one is likely to receive given a particular record. They are also very aware that juveniles will be treated more leniently than adults for those offenses for which hustlers are most often charged. This means that someone with a record may try to recruit an interested minor with no record or a briefer record to hustle with. It also means that an older man with a lengthy record who does not want to work a "straight" job may decide to recruit young women without records to work for him. This gives him a rather safe and reliable way of making money illegally even though he has a lengthy record. The two may agree ahead of time that the minor with or without a record or the young woman over 18 without a record will take the rap should they be apprehended. The young woman, whether because she is a minor or because she has no record, will probably get a suspended sentence or probation and the recruiter may go free. The risk, of course, is that in some instances the adult may be charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor or, perhaps, with soliciting. Either charge would be less serious than the charge that would probably have been the person's lot had they continued to hustle actively themselves. One woman I spoke with described a situation in which a man lived off the earnings of several young women. His

business was diversified; each of the women hustled in a different way. One was a prostitute; one a booster; and one a drug dealer. He thus had a steady source of income and his risk was minimal. His only concern was controlling the women who worked and lived with him. This he did with sex, money, emotional support, drugs, and occasional brutal beatings. The differential treatment accorded juveniles is also a serious consideration for women who have reached 18 whether or not they have juvenile records. In many cases Milwaukee street hustlers at least said that they were less willing to take risks when they reached majority than they were when they were minors. In no case did this consideration put a halt to their hustling altogether, however.

Childbirth as a Variable in Recruitment

Although many of the informants had done some free lance hustling in their early teens, getting actively involved in a deviant street network implies engaging in a variety of hustling ventures usually with others on a fairly regular basis. It rests on one's ability to organize one's life, at least for a while, around hustling. This takes a degree of time and freedom that very young teenagers usually do not have. Moreover, it involves a redefinition of self that is usually not easy for someone who is being defined by her status as a high school student as well as by her significant others as still a child. This pattern tends to occur, then, slightly later in these girls' lives, often after the birth of a first child. This event is particularly important because for many of the women it meant both an actual and a symbolic change in status. Symbolically, as Ladner pointed out in her study of black adolescent girls in St. Louis: "If there was one common standard for becoming a woman that was accepted by the majority of the people in the community, it was the time when girls gave birth to their first child. This line of demarcation was extremely clear and separated the girls from the women" (1971: 212). The importance of this event for the entry, especially of young black women, into deviant street networks is that it lessened the legitimacy of rules advanced by parents and guardians who tried to set limits on the activities of these young women. Efforts at social control were, thus, to a certain degree, automatically undermined. In actuality, depending on the girl's age, the event also meant that she was eligible to collect her own AFDC check. This often allowed her to attempt to get her own apartment. Another possibility is that she would move in with the father of her child or a current lover at this time whether or not she was still a minor. Thus she was also able to be physically distant from the sources of external social control. At this point the young woman is in a very vulnerable position because of the loosened ties to parents and guardians and because her welfare check or the income provided by her lover, it soon becomes clear, is not the key to independence she may have thought it was. She may be having a hard time making it financially and may be feeling a bit tied down at a time when she expected to feel for the first time a measure of independence. This may be true even if, as was often the case among my informants, she is getting a great deal of help with childcare from her mother or other older female relatives. It is at this time that the Milwaukee street hustlers I came to know seemed especially likely to get really involved in "the fast life." Even if the welfare money was being collected by the guardians or mothers of these women because of their status as minors and they were not able, alone or with a lover, to get their own apartments, the symbolic content of this event seemed to loosen controls to an unprecedented degree and was followed by a greater measure of

illicit behavior within the context of a deviant street network than was engaged in previously. If the pregnancy meant, as it did for most, that the young woman dropped out of high school and did not return, it also meant that the source of self-definition and day-to-day involvement was also suddenly absent. Such women often tried to get "straight" jobs, but soon found, if they had not discovered it before pregnancy, that the street had more to offer in terms of income, independence, and excitement (as well as risks) than the dead-end jobs they could land. As Mildred, a woman who after having a miscarriage returned to school at her mother's insistence only to graduate four months pregnant, said:

I thought by graduating everything was gonna be OK, you know, cuz that's what they tell me, you know, cuz, like I got a high school diploma; hey, I made it. I'm a free woman; I'm of age, you know; come on here. I had a son to support, you know. I had to make money even quicker. I don't know if they looked at it that way. Um, I just figured, God, I'm never gonna be able to get a job. Then the job they was offerin' me . . . oh, I can't work for this less money. You got to be crazy, I said. There's a faster way out there. I worked for \$1.67 from February to April, \$1.67 at Marc's Big Boy (a fast food chain), and I think that was really against my constitutional rights. But I didn't have no choice. I need a job and I grab it. And I thought: I'm not gonna work for \$1.67; I'm not! I told 'em . . . I said: "Damn. This is 1979. What is this here?" It was a trip. They don't know what they doin' to these young women with their job cuz . . . it don't make 'em workin' any harder; it don't. It makes 'em want to get it faster. You might meet somebody you're waitin' on one day, gives you a wink and telephone number . . . Or come on up to his apartment, or I got a better position for you upstairs. I did.

It is important to note that many young women in this situation do, indeed, settle down at a "straight" job and/or continue in school. Several factors may facilitate this outcome as opposed to having the birth of a child push the young woman closer to a career on the streets. Although I had little contact with young women from this same community who were straight, one can hypothesize that again the degree of intersection between the girl's domestic network or household and deviant street networks and the ability of her parents or guardians to protect her from negative community influences, as well as her own assessment of her potential based on her past performance in school and/or the quality of that first job certainly are important variables. I would also venture to say that there's a certain amount of chance involved. Even though the women I spent most of my time with had opted for the streets, some of them did have "straight" siblings, step-siblings, etc. One woman, Diane, who had five siblings and step-siblings and whose mother had been in Taycheedah (the Wisconsin state penal facility for women) when the children were young described a family joke that centered on such a situation:

When I was little I lived with my mother's legal guardian.
Four of us lived with her. The two youngest stayed with our

grandmother. All of us except for one child has been in trouble with the law. My sister was in Taycheedah; my brother was in Waupan . . . all of us was in jail around the same time. The only one that didn't get in any trouble was my little sister. She's the balanced one in my family. She's twenty now. She's so upstanding. Do you think she'd get in trouble? She wouldn't do anything. Like all of us, my mother and me like to smoke a little weed now and then. And my little sister, she don't even smoke cigarettes, let alone weed. She also don't drink . . . like when I was pregnant, oh, she used to put up with me. I was terrible. She would never get pregnant 'till she got married. There's a joke in our family that they brought the wrong baby home from the hospital.

It is obviously possible for young women who are unmarried to have a first child and become more settled because of it. It is also possible for sisters to react differently to having a child themselves or to the idea of having a child. (One must not forget here that two sisters may, and often do, have different domestic networks and that this is especially likely if there is a great deal of difference in their ages.) The important point to be made here is that the birth of the first child often did seem to be a turning point in the lives of Milwaukee street hustlers.

The recruitment of one particular informant illustrates very well how the birth of the first child may loosen parental controls. It also highlights the importance of the intersection of domestic and deviant street networks. Loretta was one of ten children. She was 27 when I met her and had been an active street hustler for eight years. She had no juvenile record although she does recall playing hooky from school. Her mother died when she was 14, and her father was caring for the family. She complains that he was grumpy and didn't approve of any of his daughter's boyfriends. She says of this period in her life:

I was just missin' school, you know, tryin' to pass on just once a week, get my subjects done . . . I would always go to my morning class but then after lunch-- that was playaround time, especially if it was a class I didn't like. I was missin' school and doin' everythin'. Daddy use to tell me, particularly on Sunday: Don't play hooky anymore." Particularly on Sunday he'd tell me I couldn't go to the basketball game. And when it way my birthday, I went, you know. My birthday was always around the time of a basketball tournament. And I went. And he couldn't stop me. So I decided after a while what I was gonna go . . . I wanted to get pregnant. I didn't just get pregnant. I wanted to get pregnant to settle down.

Loretta transferred to a school for pregnant high school students shortly after he son was born. It was her mother's dying wish that her children should stay in school until they graduated. Loretta graduated, got on welfare, and moved out:

I moved on my own. And I took care of my son, got on welfare and then when I saw he was gettin' older and me and my family, daddy and them wuz comin' back closer together-- cuz they all was upset cuz I moved--then eventually I decided I would look for me a job and maybe I would find someone to keep him. I looked for me a job, and I found a job, and I got the lady to keep him that used to live in the projects with us before we moved. She kept him, and I paid her while I worked. I was workin' second shift. And then eventually I met this guy that wanted to be a pimp. That's how all this started. I met him. He had got out of the House of Corrections from being there two years for driver's . . . revocation of his license or something . . . and, uh, O.K., my cousin was already going with his brother ("going with" implies he was her pimp), and my oldest brother had already been in the House of Corrections (drug dealer), and this guy that I eventually went with . . . my brother told him about me along with the guy's brother that went with my cousin. And, so, when the guy come out, he come to my house cuz me and my cousin wuz tight, and I eventually started goin' with him. I ended up bein' his prostitute, whorin' for him He had been into burglary and other things before. He had never pimped, but he wanted him some whores.

When I met Loretta, she had just finished serving time for knifing to death a woman she had been in a fight with. During her career on the streets she had been a prostitute, carried a concealed weapon and trafficked in weapons, recruited other women to work as prostitutes for "her man" (to be her wives-in-law), stolen cars, sold drugs, been a pickpocket, a till-tapper, a robber, and an embezzler. She sometimes had straight jobs during this time, and she continued to collect welfare during much of this period. Even when she was on the run from local authorities, she continued to send money to her father and sisters for their support and the support of her son. Loretta's story is typical in every way but one. She claims to have deliberately planned her first pregnancy. No other informant claimed to have done that, and I have reason to suspect that even her pregnancy was not as planned as she suggests. Loretta is also older than most of the women I came to know. She is probably near the end of her career as a street hustler. She is too old to be marketable on the streets as a prostitute and further arrests would carry very severe penalties for her.

For young women who are recruited into deviant street networks as Loretta was, involvement in hustling may come to be just one of the ways in which they contribute to their own support, the support of their children, and the well-being of their domestic network or extended family. Here, acquiring money, goods, and services by means of a hustle may simply be part of everyday living.

Running Away as a Route to Deviant Street Networks

A national survey of runaways indicates that in 1975 about 733,000 youth ran away. For the purpose of the study a runaway was defined as a youth 10 to 17

years old who was absent at least overnight without parental permission. The study also indicated that about half of the runaways that year were girls (47%), that runaways were more likely to come from low income families than from the middle or upper part of the income distribution (the rate was about 40% higher for adolescents from low income families), that racial differences in running away were slight (white-2.9, black-3.2, and Hispanic-4.6), that household having two members, usually a parent and a child were much more likely (5.1%) to have a child run away than households having four persons (1.9%), and that the highest rate (7.1%) occurred in households of eight or more persons (Opinion Research Corporation 1976).

Brennan, Huizinga, and Elliott, researchers who have done a great deal of work on runaways, have through multivariate analysis generated a typology of runaways (Brennan 1980: 198-203). They feel that there are two general classes of runaways. Class I is defined as not highly delinquent and, in general, not alienated from family and school. They tend to have, on balance, positive motivations for running away including a desire to explore, to meet new people, and to have new experiences. They do not appear to be very different from nonrunaways in terms of alienation from parents or schools nor do they appear to be more delinquent. The literature in this area seems to suggest that about one-fifth of runaways are of this type (Wattenberg 1956, Walker 1975, Brennan, et.al. 1978, and Liberto 1980). Class II is characterized as "delinquent, alienated runaways" (Brennan 1980: 200). Although there are several types within each class, generally speaking, this second category includes two groups. First there are those adolescents who are obviously alienated from school, feel parental control is too restrictive, have had quarrels with parents or teachers, and have been involved in a variety of delinquent activities alone or with peers. This group is usually thought to be the largest category, accounting for perhaps 75% of the total (Nye 1980: 5). Second, there are what have come to be called in the literature "pushouts." These youngsters have been told to leave by parents or abandoned. There are no exact estimates of the size of this group, but it may be about 5% of the total (Butler 1974).

Most runaways do not run far or stay long. The national survey referred to above found that 20% traveled less than a mile and 52% less than ten miles. Only 18% traveled farther than 50 miles. Forty per cent had returned within a week and 84% were back within a month. Nine per cent were gone up to six months and 5% had not returned at the time the national survey was taken (Opinion Research Corporation 1976). Many runaways who cannot or do not want to live at home find life in the streets no better, and alternate between returning home and going back to the streets (Nye 1980: 5).

About half of the sixty-eight female hustlers I obtained life histories from described running away from home as an event critical to their recruitment to street life. When compared with women recruited via domestic networks, these women tended to have fewer kin or fictive kin who made a living as part of deviant street networks and more siblings and step-siblings who earned an income exclusively or almost exclusively from "straight" jobs. They were also more often clearly middle class in their origins and, curiously, more often from families that held a sort of pariah status in the community. As opposed to entry into "the fast life" directly via the domestic network, the dynamics of recruitment as a result of running away, congruent with the lack of a race

effect noted in the national survey of runaways cited above, appear to favor neither blacks or whites. In terms of the typology proposed by Brennan *et.al.* (1978), all of the women who were recruited to deviant street networks by this route would be categorized as Class II runaways. Although Brennan *et.al.* indicate that most "pushouts" are boys from lower-class families, some of these women clearly had no choice but to leave their families and, thus, are also properly classified as "pushouts."

There is a surprising consistency in the themes that echo from the stories these women tell about the situations that precipitated their leaving home. Many felt that, for one reason or another, they were singled out among their siblings and step-siblings for special treatment. In many cases there is reason to believe that this may have been so because they were the only child a mother had had by a man other than the man who fathered the rest of her children, for example, or they strikingly resembled some lover of their mother's that she would rather forget. One woman felt that she was clearly her parents' "pick" and that that status caused her brothers and sisters to treat her badly as a result of their jealousy. More typical is the following statement:

When I was little, I was always the one that was odd. I always did things. My mother said that I was blackhearted and that I was evil. And she told me that constantly. And they used to call me--I was the darkest one in my family--they used to call me "blackie" and "darkie." I was very insulted and sensitive. I got my feelings hurt and always ran to my father for comfort and my grandmother.

Even if they did not feel that they had been chosen, for whatever reason, to be the recipient of some uniquely negative treatment throughout childhood, the majority of the women felt that, especially with the onset of puberty, their activities were restricted in a way that their siblings' or step-siblings' or peers' were not. In most instances the restrictions described were put into effect when parents perceived that their daughters probably had become or were likely to become sexually active whether this was with someone the parents or guardians approved of or not. Concern about poor performance in school and/or generally disruptive activity in school including tardiness, drug use, fighting and truancy was also seen as meriting increased control of young female changes.

Jeanne's description of her relationship with her parents from about junior high on illustrates this pattern very well. When I met Jeanne she was 24 years old, married, and the mother of three children, the first of which had been put up for adoption. She was waiting to be picked up by the police at any moment for some recent forgeries that she knew had been detected and she was quite certain that she would be sentenced for a rather lengthy period to Taycheedah. She had a history of status offenses as a juvenile and an adult had been involved in shoplifting and forgery on her own and in fencing stolen property and credit card fraud with her husband and friends of his. She describes her conflicts with her parents this way:

I had a happy childhood up to the age of about 15. When I was growing up I always had nice things, nice clothes, nice house. My parents, they give me a lot, you know, just about

whatever I wanted before I started getting in trouble. Then I started having problems. That's when it all started, after I was 15. Then I started wanting to do a few things, and my parents just didn't seem to understand, but now, or I should say when my brother was born, they're a lot more lenient on him. They let him do a lot then they ever let me do. But I think they kinda learned off me, too, and they seen what happened to me. My parents were just totally against Dave. That's what it was there, you know. And, well, my father is a real stinker and, you know, school and report cards . . . and if I got a "C" or "D" in somethin', you know, I was grounded. I was grounded half my life with him. Every little thing, you know. You're grounded.

Me: Did you skip a lot of school?

No, well, yeah, a little bit. When, you know, I got in 9th, 10th grade, I started, you know, going outside for lunch, and friends would come up in their cars and say "Come on, Jeanne, let's go." O.K. It didn't take much to talk me into somethin'. They put me away in detention a couple a times for a couple a weeks at a time because they considered me uncontrollable and because they didn't like Dave, the man I'm married to now. Any, you know, every time they'd catch me at lunch hour at McDonald's or somethin' they'd have the police pick me up at night and take me away. So, then, I ran away from home. Dave came with me. We were gone like 5 months. We stayed a couple a places and then at my cousin's. We were dealing a lot of drugs and stuff. I was pregnant at the time when they caught us. They put me in Roselyn Manor and then that baby they made me give up for adoption. Then my father said I could come back if I wouldn't, you know, do all these things. And I was not allowed to see Dave again. I said: "No way." So I went to live with my mother's sister until I turned 18. Then I married Dave.

Me: Why didn't they like him?

Because he was, well, at first, I don't know, they just didn't like him and then he went to Wales (state institution for boys) for car theft, he and a bunch of guys from school. They just felt he wasn't the type of person I should be with. Maybe they were right in a way. But they were too strict, you know. My friends could go out 'til, you know, 10:00 or 11:00 at night, you know. And I just wanted to do things, not that I was doin' wrong things out there, just that they were really strict. And you just can't tell somebody they can't see somebody cause, if you do, they're gonna see them anyhow. If you care about a person, just

because your mother and father say: "Don't go see him"
... you're gonna sneak and go. It would have been a lot
easier if they would have just accepted the fact.

Drug Use as a Route to Deviant Street Networks

Although many of the women I spoke with had serious drug and alcohol problems, very few describe substance abuse as that which caused them to become involved in deviant street networks. Soft drug use may have been a contributing factor because it established certain behavior patterns and attitudes that made experimentation with drugs, such as heroin, seem less deviant. When experimentation developed into dependence, it increased the woman's attachment to the street life and decreased the possibilities that she would leave it. Drug use probably also increased the likelihood that these women would come in contact with people who led street lives. For some of them, such people already were part of their lives, however, in the persons of users, if not dealers, who were members of their own households, domestic networks, or neighborhood households. Many young women talk about smoking marijuana or taking "speed" with siblings, step-siblings, young uncles, aunts, cousins, or friends, but none spoke of being introduced to heavy drugs, such as heroin, in this way. On the contrary, several mentioned having been discouraged by slightly older household members (some of whom were users), from ever getting involved with "hard drugs."

The overwhelming majority of women with serious substance abuse problems developed them after they were already immersed in "the fast life." This should not be surprising given the very young age at which most of these women started breaking ties with home and becoming involved with "men." A repeated observation found in the literature on substance abuse among women is that males are the carriers of illegal drug-use patterns to females. This is principally because the control of the illegal distribution of drugs, especially heroin, is in the hands of men (Bowker 1978b: 65). Even in households where women were recruited by their own brothers to participate in selling marijuana or pills, forging checks, or prostitution, they were not introduced to hard drugs in this way. Rather, there is evidence of rather strong norms against such introductions. These norms are strengthened by the fact that recruitment of this sort is not income-producing and may, in fact, be a further drain on household and personal resources.

The few women for whom substance abuse was the route to involvement in deviant street networks (three of the Hispanic women interviewed might be placed in this category as well as four whites and three blacks), were never completely integrated into these networks. The social world of deviant street activity and the social world of the addict are to a certain extent distinct and incompatible. The chaos that can pervade the lives of addicts, at least episodically, precludes their ever being more than peripheral members of deviant street networks. Powerful structural conditions insure that many features of the addict's life style make such a woman a less than desirable candidate for cooperative hustling activity.

Women for whom substance abuse was the route to involvement in deviant street networks, were at first only marginally part of these networks. They and/or their boyfriends were dealing to members of networks or buying from members. Young women not otherwise involved in street life who had recently been introduced to the use of narcotics (usually by their boyfriends), tended for their first real involvement in hustling to occur when they or the men they were with could not, for one reason or another, supply the amount of drugs or kinds of drugs necessary to keep them from getting "a Jones" (withdrawal symptoms). If the men they were with were dealers, it was possible for this situation to be quite a long time in coming. If, for some reason, these men left them, overdosed, or were arrested, it was possible for such women to become major dealers themselves. More often, this was the occasion for the young woman to hit the streets to raise cash. It is important to note that very often this hustling was done on an individual basis and not as a member of a deviant street network, however. The participation of such women in street life, then, may be rather sporadic depending on the stability of their drug source. Intermittent users who are small-time dealers are more likely to actually become active members of deviant street networks as opposed to sporadic lone hustlers than are women who are heavy users and dealers. In other words, although there is a good deal of interaction between women (and the men they associate with) who are heavy users and dealers and the membership of deviant street networks because the former are a source of hard drugs for this membership, the world of the "junkie" is really socially and attitudinally a distinct one.

Moreover, offenses such as possession of heroin, are punished more severely than most other street crimes. Very often, when addicts are arrested, they are forced to participate while in prison or on probation or parole in drug rehabilitation programs. Even if a woman is living in the community, such programs (as well as lengthy sentences) can place severe restrictions on her freedom of movement. Overall, then, even a "man" who is a heavy drug user himself will prefer to recruit women who are only occasional users.

Not only is it difficult for seriously addicted women to become members of deviant street networks, but for women who are members, serious addiction may be the first step on the road out of such networks. In fact, several of the women I met were attempting to "walk the stroll" as "outlaw women" (women without a "man") because no "man" would take a chance on them. They were either too "hot" (were under the scrutiny of the narcotics squad as well as the vice squad), "used up" (had become unattractive because of the life style that accompanies addiction), or too "strung out" (crazy, desperate, unreliable). For the woman's part, she in turn, cannot afford to share her profits with a "man." In addition, she derives fewer benefits from street life and is exposed to more dangers than other women because she is not part of a deviant street network.

The only time she may be allowed to participate in the usual round of exchanges of information and social and emotional support that is the focus of deviant street network membership is before she's "used up" and when she's clean (probably because she's been in jail). During clean periods,

she may prefer, if she has the education and social support, to try to get a "straight" job.

In short, when the addict most needs the deviant street network, she has the least to give it and is, in fact, perceived as a threat to it. Thus, she is spurned, exploited, or accepted only warily by its membership. On the other hand, when she needs it least, it's there for her. In addition, whereas most street women are "in the life," for economic reasons, because it affords them a certain (albeit ephemeral) independence, for the excitement, or because of the persuasiveness of a "man," addicts are in it not as a career in and of itself, but as a means to an end, a "score." In a very real sense, such a woman may not have the requisite career commitment. She may even feel, as one woman did, that that sort of activity is beneath her even though she has stooped to it when her need for drugs was very great.

One case illustrates the entry and contact pattern very well. Kathy is a twenty-six year old, white woman who has had three children. She put her youngest child up for adoption, and her first child lives with her ex-husband. She has two younger sisters and an older brother. None of them has had a run-in with the law although two of them are very occasional drug users. At the time of the interview she was awaiting transfer from the House of Correction to Taycheedah (state penal facility for women). She had been convicted of multiple forgeries.

Kathy seems to have gotten involved in problematic drug use following a particularly traumatic domestic crisis. She did not have a juvenile record, was never truant, and never ran away. She started using marijuana and barbiturates shortly after her parents divorced. She was twelve years old at the time. Her father was a truck driver with a serious drinking problem. Her mother was a housewife. After the divorce, her mother was on welfare for several years, but has worked outside the home since that time.

Kathy remembers her parents having terrible fights when she was a child during which her father would beat her mother. She recalls being exceptionally upset about their divorce. She blamed her mother for divorcing her father--with whom she had been very close--and fought bitterly with her about this. After two years of smoking marijuana and taking downers, Kathy started shooting heroin with her boyfriend who had also been providing her with the other drugs. Soon she was also dealing. This continued until she was a senior in high school. She describes this time in the following way:

I went to Catholic school. I made it to the twelfth grade About two months before I graduated, I got hepatitis from shooting dope. I ended up in the hospital. That's when my mother first found out I was shooting dope. The doctor told her that was the only possible way I could have got it because it was serum hepatitis Well, okay, I met my husband about nine months after I got this hepatitis and went with him for a while and then I busted up with him. And, uh, I wasn't shooting dope anymore. I had stopped. I

just turned nineteen and I started shooting again. We got married and everything was going real well for us. But the dope got into the act, got into our lives. And soon after that happened we ended up splitting up. It was just that there was nothing left for us. I mean sexual desires weren't being met. We didn't care about each other as much as we did the dope. The dope always came first.

Kathy's ex-husband has since stopped dealing and using. He's told Kathy that he doesn't want anything to do with her as long as she uses heroin. She wasn't able to deal and use without him, however. Her habit was \$200 to \$300 a day. Although she was never caught, she earned money as a prostitute and by forging checks and dealing. During that time, she was marginally involved in deviant street networks, mainly ones with significant drug dealing and use among their shifting membership. Her most recent child was fathered by a man who was, at the time we spoke, in a state correctional facility for armed robbery. She claims that he doesn't "do drugs," and that, in fact, he didn't commit the armed robbery. Information from other sources, however, leads me to believe that he is deeply involved in deviant street networks in Milwaukee. If Kathy does link up with him when they are both free again, the chances of her becoming involved in deviant street networks herself are quite high, while the chances of her staying clean are very slight. Both of these people will have expanded their circle of acquaintances who have at one time been members of deviant street networks while they are in prison.

Those, like Kathy, for whom substance abuse was the route to at least sporadic involvement in deviant street networks tended to be white or Hispanic rather than black as mentioned above. The total number of Hispanic women I spoke with was only four. My research findings, however, are congruent with those of Joan Moore (1982). The heavy involvement of Hispanic street women in narcotics is beyond dispute. Moore finds narcotics' dealing and use to be an intimate part of barrio culture in East Los Angeles, her research site. A similar situation seems to exist in Milwaukee.

Women are introduced to narcotics' use by boyfriends, but also by girlfriends. Whereas it seems to take a family crisis or some other major disruption in household organization to propel both white and Hispanic women into heavy use, Hispanic women seem more likely to be introduced to hard drug use within their own extended households. The difference between Hispanic women and white women seems to be a matter of availability and the strength of competing norms governing use. Not only are the norms against use, especially among peers, weaker for Hispanic women, but the values that foster use are deeply embedded in the culture with which the young woman is likely to be surrounded. In addition, the fact that a major source of heroin in Milwaukee as well as in L.A. is Mexico means that there is automatic availability of the drug in the community in which the young woman resides. The pattern of intermittent lone hustling for the already seriously addicted woman and the deeper involvement in deviant street networks of the occasional user/small-time dealer seems to parallel the pattern found among white women. If the relatively small proportion of black women in this category is not simply a function of sampling

technique, and I suspect it isn't, it may be attributed to the fact that they tend to be recruited to "street life" earlier than either whites or Hispanics via other routes: that is, before drug use becomes problematic.

Incest as a Factor in Running Away and Drug Use

My initial interviews did not contain any questions on incest or sexual abuse generally, but several young women described incest as something that led to running away or drug use. In subsequent interviews, then, when women described household situations in which they had been physically abused by men or situations in which the main source of familial conflict was between a young woman and her father, stepfather, etc., and it seemed appropriate to ask the questions, I did. By this very unsystematic method, 2 cases of incest were uncovered among the white women (8%) and 8 among black women (20%). All but one of these instances of incest seemed to have precipitated running away or problematic drug use and promoted recruitment to "the fast life." One black woman had a sexual relationship with her father whom she had not known as a child but whom she tracked down after she had already been hustling for a number of years. At the time, the woman was running from the police and her father lived out-of-state and offered her refuge. This was the only instance where the sexual involvement seemed to have been entered into voluntarily.

Although my data on this topic are neither systematic enough nor extensive enough to draw any conclusions from, my hunch is that this is a much more important factor in patterns of running away and drug use, and thus, in recruitment to deviant street networks than is generally acknowledged. It is also my belief that the experience of emotional distancing during sexual contact that incest victims often describe is too like the psychological state described by prostitutes when they are servicing a trick for one not to be a sort of rehearsal for the other. In those cases, sexual exploitation on the street seems but an extension of sexual exploitation in the family.

The important point to be made here is that incest is probably a contributing factor in the recruitment of young women to deviant street networks. In addition, it is a factor that needs to be taken seriously and examined more closely.

Although a possible link between incest and running away has been noted before in the literature, it has usually been interpreted as but an unconscious psychological construct, a manifestation of the girl's "unresolved oedipal feelings," or some such. In other words, the reality of the incestuous activity has been challenged. My data lead me to believe that in many cases the fear of incest is more than simply an unconscious one. As a matter of fact, two of the male relatives described by Milwaukee informants as sexually abusive were convicted of having incestuous relationships with more than one young woman in their households. Nor is such behavior found exclusively within the disorganized households of "pushouts."

The Three Recruitment Routes

Young women in Milwaukee are recruited to deviant street networks in three different ways: through domestic networks, by running away, and as a result of drug use. The route via the domestic network is most often taken by poor black women, while the route via drug use appears to be oft trod by poor Hispanic women. The route via running away, however, seems to be available to young women with little regard for race, ethnicity or social class.

The separate consideration of each route is not meant to suggest that in every case one can say without hesitation which particular path was followed. At times there is a certain blurring of the structural conditions that seem to indicate one pattern with conditions that indicate another pattern and the actual recruitment involves so many deviant activities all being engaged in seemingly simultaneously that it is difficult to say just what the recruitment route was. Theoretically, a young woman may have a highly criminogenic domestic network, be a habitual runaway, and be well on the road to becoming an addict all at the same time. Although this mixed pattern was observed, a causally dominant route was usually discernable. The point is that there may be more overlap in the behaviors actually exhibited and the structural conditions that appeared to have promoted them than the separate treatments offered here suggest.

The phenomena described here that seem to be of especial importance are a set of structural conditions that account for a certain race effect. It is clear, for example, that black females participate in deviant street activity in Milwaukee to a degree that far surpasses the proportion of the city's population they constitute. Although it is impossible to estimate what proportion of women "on the hustle" in the city are black, my guess would be that it is well over half. The over-representation of black women is especially striking when one considers that of the people living in the Milwaukee SMSA in 1976, only 8.2% were black (Edari 1978: 86). If active involvement in prostitution is an indicator of participation in deviant street activity generally, this observation is consistent with Cohen's ecological study of street prostitution in New York City in which he estimates that about 45.3% of prostitutes there are black (1980: 65).

Given the number of poor white women who could wind up on the street and the number of poor black women with that same potential, far more black women than white women seem to actually make the trip. It has been argued in this chapter and the last that one possible reason for this is that black women have a greater number of avenues open to them that lead to the street than do white women, with Hispanic women located somewhere in between. Black women have access to all the routes available to other women with the addition of what seems to be a rather well-traveled route, the route directly via the domestic network. Hispanic women, it would appear have available to them the route open to white women and also are more likely than whites to have the routes via drug use and extended household available to them. For this reason, white women seem to be

afforded a certain degree of protection from being recruited via some of these routes that is afforded neither black nor Hispanic women.

There is another interesting way of making the same observation. It is the organization of households among poor blacks into domestic networks that promotes the recruitment of young black women directly to deviant street networks. It is often a situation of household disorganization, at least as it is indicated by intense conflict between young women and their caretakers, that is most likely to promote the recruitment of white and Hispanic women to deviant street networks, however, via running away and drug use. The impetus that the women who take these routes derive from familial conflict affects young black women as well. Their actual recruitment, then, resembles that of white and Hispanic women to the degree that they are not members of familial networks that extend to the streets. To the degree that they are, these networks may play an indirect role in their recruitment. At the very least, they may provide a refuge for young black women who sever their ties to their immediate caretakers. More often they also are the context within which initiation into "the fast life" occurs. Whether the intersection of domestic and deviant street networks provides direct or indirect access to the street, however, they do afford young black women greater opportunities for being recruited to deviant street networks than are available to either white or Hispanic women.

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A Description and Interpretation of
Prostitution of Young Women in Bilbao

by

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INTRODUCTION: THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE DISCUSSION ABOUT
PROSTITUTION IN SPAIN

When the theme of prostitution is discussed it is not often that one gets beyond the stereotype of the nocturnal scene in a low class area. As if the prostitute were always slinking along the wall, wearing a mini skirt and a cloying perfume; these discussions are usually limited to facile sermons or spectacular and somewhat morbid accounts of the way of life of these women.

In June 1984 we had the chance of carrying out a sociological study of this phenomenon, which added a new perspective to the theoretical-practical project which we have been pursuing in our investigations into the reality of women's lives. Through these studies we have discovered and analysed the various models which society has established. Entering the world of prostitution provided us with the keys to the one and only model which is always implied by the major negative definition of what it means to be a woman.

At present discussion in Spain concerning prostitution is mainly centred on the question of whether or not it should be considered to be a job or profession comparable to other salaried occupations. Those involved in this discussion have been, on the one hand, official institutions such as local councils, Governments of Autonomous Communities, the Institute of the Woman (Ministry of Culture); and on the other, the feminist movement, some political parties and trades unions, and finally, the prostitutes themselves through the medium of some of their collectives.

The two most important themes under discussion are the establishment of the legality of prostitution and the situation of the prostitutes with regard to social security. With regard to the former issue, the Legal Decree of Abolition of Prostitution of 1956 is still in force; this envisaged the closure of public establishments where prostitution was carried on; to this have been added criminal penalties against procuring and the encouragement of prostitution and the application of prostitutes of the Law against Social Imperilment of 1970 which defined prostitutes as a social peril to be subject to measures of control and to be liable to be imprisoned in centres of re-education; and in addition it took away their residence permits etc. In practice this law was applied in a flexible manner and was characterised by a certain permissiveness and arbitrariness in its execution.

In the various conferences devoted to this problem, and from a distinctly permissive point of view, acknowledging the need for these legal measures to be abolished, the following suggestions have been made: an increase in the penalties for those who make a living as pimps with special emphasis on those who exploit juvenile prostitutes; the rigorous application of the nationality laws; social security measures and the improvement of services in shanty towns; and finally, the carrying out of campaigns to appeal to the conscience of the public in general.

From another point of view, the recognition of prostitution is urged as a form of work existing in the service sector, and it is suggested that regulation of their conditions of work should be established similar to that which already exists for those who are in salaried jobs, and this would acknowledge the right of prostitutes to social security, retirement pensions, payments for sickness and unemployment, as well as the right to form trades unions.

Each of these approaches forms a platform for debate in official institutions, in the feminist movement, the political parties, trades unions and prostitutes collectives.

WHEN SEX IS AN OBJECT OF COMMERCE

It is a commonplace that sex is sometimes for sale and this idea is closely linked with the exchange for money of the sexual services of a woman for any individual man. Socially prostitution is identified with female prostitution, which does not mean that the male variety does not exist, but that it is particularly in connection with women and only when all the terms of the definition are taken into account, that it acquires its full social meaning; that is to say, a mode of behaviour which by its very nature flouts the clearly defined rules concerning the relationship between the sexes as limited to affective-sexual interaction which is institutionalised in the family. And thus prostitution serves as a bulwark of patriarchal ideology.

From this point of view other realities which have certain features in common with prostitution are not, nevertheless, to be defined in the same way; this is so even when sex which is the object of commerce is substituted for some other activity, or when the agents themselves are changed. Thus for example, when it is the man who is a prostitute, the social significance of this fact is not the same, neither is it the same when the woman sells her strength in a form of work or intellectual production to another woman or to a man; even when we are talking about marital relations reduced to the exchange of sex on the part of the wife for the salary of the husband, the definition does not apply because the fact that this is focused on a single man breaks the absolute requirement that in the case of prostitution the relation with the client should be impersonal and easily interchangeable. That is to say, our emphasis is not placed on whether these activities are as questionable as that of prostitution, but on the explanation of the causes, the manifestations, etc., in short on its social meaning.

Although as is well known prostitution "is the oldest profession in the world", it has never been considered nor is it now considered as a profession amongst others; but it continues to be defined as an individual mode of behaviour associated with and utilised as an archetype, useful as a source of moralising and directed exclusively, and not by chance, against women; even though it is both men and women who are the actors. Even though the archetype of the prostitute is basically constructed around a form of sexual relation between a man and a woman it goes further than this, and embraces traits of character, expectations, forms of thought and modes of inter-relation, and of course of life. In this way, the traditional prototype of the prostitute is a woman who uses her sex and her body as an object of commerce in relations with men, thus satisfying male sexual desires; she therefore does not carry out the proper tasks of a woman, and shows an irresponsible, rebellious, dominating, indomitable, ambitious character, without any scruples and totally amoral.

In order to grasp the real significance of this archetype it is

necessary to take into account first of all, that every reality has both a positive and a negative connotation established by the dominant ideology; and in the second place, that at the present time there co-exist in Spain different models of womanhood, one related to traditional society and others to modern consumer society.

In the traditional model of womanhood the prostitute is defined in a negative way since she transgresses one of those fundamental associations which owe their existence to a patriarchal ideology which is also traditional: the association female sexuality - affectivity - maternity is replaced by female sexuality - commerce; this patriarchal ideology sustains both sets of associations, and provides their common basis, i.e. the definition of the woman in terms of her sexual function. Nevertheless, in flouting the rules prostitution does not bring about a contradiction, for it helps to maintain the sexual morality which is in force by limiting the definition of sex to the relation of penetration between a man and a woman; it also reinforces the status quo by providing the woman with a negative model which is not to be imitated, since the mother is an asexual person in contrast to the prostitute who concentrates within herself a whole realm of sexuality; and for man, it confirms that his sexuality is different, it is not limited to paternity or affectivity, but is to be defined as an instinct which it is necessary to satisfy.

Although, at first, the category of sexual morality may seem to be applicable only to modes of behaviour thus narrowly defined, it in fact embraces and embues all the features which taken together form the traditional model of what it means to be a woman, precisely because she is being defined through her sexual function. In this way, dependence, passivity, and fidelity, which stand out as her positive qualities, come to form part of the social definition of the character of the woman. Living in a state of dependence is a permanent characteristic which obtains throughout her life, first in relation to her parents, then to her husband and finally to her sons; passivity influences the way she participates in public life and to a large extent in the taking of decisions and the carrying out of activities in private life; and fidelity goes beyond the sphere of matrimony, reaching out to all the individuals that make up the circle of relations of the marriage (sons, family of origin, and political family). From this perspective the woman may act out her life only within the restricted environment of the private sphere with a clear definition of limits without any possibility of going beyond these limits; restricted to fulfilling only the roles of mother and wife, in a relation of dependency with regard to man, to such a point that she is not even the mistress of her own sexuality.

The maintenance of this morality requires a negative definition which embraces all types of behaviour deemed to transgress the morality, and thus the archetype of the prostitute is applied to all those women who in one way or another fail to live up to the norm, even though they do not use their sex as an object of commerce. This is clearly seen in the use of the term "whore" applied to women who are unfaithful to their husbands, or who go out at night, or who decide not to get married while maintaining sexual relations with one or many men, or who enjoy sex without having children etc. Since this kind of behaviour is potentially destructive of the moral norm, it is neutralised to some extent by being lumped together with prostitution.

Together with this view of womanhood and prostitution, the patriarchal ideology, other conceptions have been developing in Spain

which, although the woman is still defined by means of her sexual function, imply a qualitative change which has repercussions on the way that prostitution is considered. Amongst these conceptions, one is becoming dominant in opposition to the traditional view, now in decline; this newer conception of womanhood is built on the basis of the principle of equality with man, which implies a clear change in the structure of sexual domination. The conception of woman, therefore, no longer rests solely on her role in the private sphere in the context of the family, but also on her participation in public life, mainly in the workplace.

To this way of thinking it seems absolutely fundamental that authority and organisation on the social level should be shared, that there should be non-egalitarian co-operation in family relations, less subordination of the woman to the man; but also that the woman must participate in social life; that matrimony and maternity should be defined as her goals, and that domestic work should be assigned to her.

Implicit in this view is the more active participation in sexual relations of the woman, who thus comes to adopt forms of activity which were previously linked to the male role. However, sexuality continues to be defined in the context of heterosexual relations and penetration, and femininity is associated with affectivity but not with maternity. The sexuality of the woman is recognised although it can only be fully realised in an affective and stable relationship with a man. Prostitution thus retains a negative connotation because it has broken the link with affectivity and repudiated the intimacy which is its concomitant, in order to transform sex into a public as well as a commercial object. The woman who lives in this way comes to symbolise an incapacity for leading a well ordered life in congenial circumstances; she represents coldness and irresponsibility.

Although this model is coming to be the dominant one, there is a third way of seeing the matter which has come into being more recently, which clearly is linked to the presuppositions of consumer society. There are a number of strands central to this perspective and they are as follows: the absolute requirement that the woman should share social power on an equal footing with the man; the supremacy of the sphere of her public life, the maintenance of balance in private life, and a recognition of female sexuality almost as an instinct. But even from this point of view prostitution once again receives a negative connotation due to its commercial aspect.

In analysing the phenomenon of prostitution it is necessary to take into account these more positive definitions of what it means to be a woman, since prostitution represents the shadow image of each of these qualities, and this may be done in terms of corresponding realities which are clearly distinct one from another. Thus, there are different types of prostitution according to the socio-cultural context in which they take place, the way it is done, and the type of prostitute who performs this role.

A socio-cultural context makes reference to concrete geographical spaces, and is characterised by a specific style of life and by its own social, economic, and cultural conditions.

The ways prostitution is done may be distinguished by such criteria as the relation between the activity of the prostitute and every day life in the urban zone, the kind of actors who are involved, the modes of behaviour with regard to: the transgressing of socially defined values by both men and women, the degree to which the public space becomes private, and the degree of normalisation of the relation between the actors.

Finally, it is necessary to take into account the every day life of the prostitutes, together with their way of seeing the world, and their understanding of what it means to be a woman and a prostitute.

METHODOLOGY AND CONCRETE ANALYSIS

The analysis that we present here is the result of an empirical investigation into the prostitution of women, carried out in Bilbao during 1984 and 1985, and which was funded by the Instituto de la Mujer (Ministry of Culture).

Although this study focuses almost entirely on the youngest prostitutes, we did not entirely neglect prostitutes of other age groups.

The main goal was to be able to interpret the phenomenon of female prostitution in a society such as we have in Spain, at present in a state of transition from a traditional world to a new consumer society. This made it necessary to discover the elements which are linked to this transition, and to observe a pattern in order to give them meaning. For this reason the most suitable approach is a qualitative one, which implies using techniques of information gathering which provide information about the daily life of prostitutes and the system of ideas which gives meaning to their lived experience as women and as prostitutes. Thus, the concrete techniques were: observation and interviews in depth.

The collection of information for this study took place in two phases which correspond to the implementation of the two techniques selected.

Observation

The first of the phases consisted in direct observation of the social, economic, and cultural conditions which provide the framework for the act of prostitution in those areas where it takes place, as well as the different kinds and types of activity occurring in these places.

By this method we obtained knowledge of the precise spatial-temporal limits of the phenomenon (the concrete places and times in which it took place); the content and structure of every day life in the demarcated zones; and finally, the elements that define the act of prostitution on the basis of the infrastructural conditions, the type of agents involved, and the interpersonal behaviour which took place.

With these few points in mind, observation was carried out in three different zones of the city of Bilbao:

- a) the ghetto (the Chinese district), a zone with precise spatial boundaries and an infrastructure in a precarious state, where prostitution takes place in the street;
- b) the intermediate zone outside the Chinese district, where specific areas of prostitution activity can be found in working class and peripheral parts of the city, with minimal infrastructure and prostitution taking place inside clubs;
- c) the central zone, made up of specific prosperous sites, where prostitution is carried out discretely in clubs and discoteques.

Observation as a technique took place in the natural environment of the actors being studied, following a more or less flexible plan of activity. It was a means of obtaining exact records of the situations which define the act of prostitution; and although everything that happened could not be recorded, and it was not possible to relate absolutely all the situational details, nevertheless to a great extent the naturalness of events was preserved; and this represents our intention to "freeze" reality so that it may be studied more easily. In this way we managed a first approach to the reality of prostitution, identifying a setting for it and relating it to every day life as it occurred in the zones where these activities were being observed.

The kinds of data we gathered were both objective and subjective; they were not an interpretation but a description of the situation and context in which prostitution flourishes, and recorded carefully the sequence of events leading up to it.

Two kinds of observations were employed. The first of these provide very concrete behavioural data, which were also very manageable for the purposes of categorisation and analysis; the second involved recording impressions of the general atmosphere, enabling us to relate apparently isolated events together and place them in context.

Observation was carried out in each of the three zones indicated, both in the street and in specific indoor places.

In order to obtain data taken from different times in the day, the timetable for observation was arranged in the following manner:

morning, 9 to 10, 12 to 1
afternoon 4 to 5, 7 to 8
night 10 to 1, 1 to 4

This timetable was followed both on working days and on holidays, completing for each zone a full description of a working day and a holiday, and involving a total of 80 hours observation. Each spell of observation took place on a different day, so that there were sufficient variations to enable us to make generalisations.

The data observed were immediately edited and written up in our field diaries, taking care not to change the chronological order of events.

Analysis consisted in the preparation of three different types of data set in which the frequency with which similar events occur is shown. In the first set, data were recorded which give a general impression of daily life in the zone, noting where the most important activities took place, as well as the kinds of behaviour and relationships which existed between the most typical actors. The second data set referred to the concrete situations obtaining in each zone but was not immediately connected with the act of prostitution itself. We recorded the sex, age, and appearance of people in the area, and also the kinds of things they did and where they did them. The third and final framework we elaborated categorised information about the elements which together define an act as prostitution in a concrete situation. We recorded descriptions of the physical settings in which prostitution occurred, with regard to the kind of space and the conditions of the infrastructure there; we recorded the people who participated - in particular their sex, age, and appearance, what they did, and the relationships which were established between the people present.

By comparing the data obtained, it was possible to establish, isolate, and describe in its elements, the various forms of activity involved in prostitution; this was absolutely vital for the second phase of investigation.

Interview in Depth

A second technique, the in depth interview, was used in order to collect information about the every day life of prostitutes. Thus, interviews were carried out with prostitutes themselves, selected on the basis of our observations referring to the different forms of activity. In all fifteen interviews were carried out with as many prostitutes, six of whom were less than twenty-one years old, and these interviews lasted roughly an hour and a half.

The interview is a very useful means of linking data about the experiences of the prostitutes with our own conceptual classifications. Therefore the order in which the themes and questions arose was not arranged beforehand, but rather followed the natural rhythm of the conversation, so that the interviewee was able to pass freely from one topic to another, as they were associated in her logical schema. This in itself provided information about her cognitive schema. Furthermore, open questions were asked, so that when the interviewee elaborated her reply in accordance with her own major points of reference, she also provided us with information concerning her conceptual system, as well as her level of knowledge and the degree to which she was able to elaborate an idea with regard to the theme being treated.

By this means we were able to collect both experiential data through the narrative of her life, and also about the implicit models that existed in her mind with regard to the series of roles in which she participated as a woman and a prostitute. The themes dealt with in the interviews were prostitution, salaried work, personal relations, family, maternity, and social security. These themes were interpreted both at the level of the prostitutes' own experiences and in terms of the cognitive structures which they unconsciously revealed.

In the interview objective data were also compiled: about age, civil status, place of origin, area of residence, income, level of education etc. Other data collected had to do with the structure, content, and context of the women's everyday lives. Finally we recorded the language of the interviewee, both with regard to the kind of vocabulary she used and its level of abstraction.

The interview thus made it possible to delve into the motivation, feelings, and thoughts of the women that live by prostitution, which is very necessary to arrive at a suitable interpretation of the fact of prostitution as a social phenomenon, although the latter goes beyond the experiences of the main actors.

The Three Cultural Modes and Contexts of the Prostitution of Young Women

The younger women with whom this paper is particularly concerned were found in each of the three zones. These zones roughly corresponded to three distinct cultural modes of prostitution.

The traditional context is provided by the Chinese zone, which is extremely impoverished. Here prostitution is the axis around which the entire every day life of the zone revolves; the "endoculture" or cultural mode of prostitution to be found here reflects the isolation and the marginalisation to which prostitution as a social

phenomenon, and prostitutes as concrete individuals, have been subjected.

Here prostitution takes place publicly and it is easy for the external observer to identify both prostitute and client by their appearance and behaviour. The contact takes place in the street and the woman is clearly offering herself as a sex object. There is no personal implication whatsoever between prostitute and client. Here the prostitute makes public space private both on the individual and the collective level.

Within the ghetto two types of prostitution should be distinguished. One type revolves around the fact of prostitution itself, and the other relates to the cycle prostitution - drugs - delinquency. It is mainly older women who participate fully in the first endoculture, but there are also some young women who work in the same places and have a more or less close contact with this world. Their every day life is similar to the one led by the older prostitutes; their world of relationships is restricted to people connected with the act of prostitution; pimp, client, and female companions. Their social origins are on the margins of society, since most of them are daughters of prostitutes, or young gypsies from families that are themselves marginal. The fact that they have grown up in the Chinese zone pre-supposes that they will adopt the ways of thinking which characterise the traditional endo-culture of prostitution. Thus, they have grown up to associate sexuality with money, although it is possible to find among them different definitions of maternity, sexuality, salaried work, the family, and the other realities which impinge upon their lives, now that the influence of religion has declined and they are thus able to see new possibilities for women. Being a prostitute affects every aspect of the lives of these young women, since this is the essence of their self-identify.

In this same "twilight zone" of the Chinese ghetto there are other elements that, without being essential to the act of prostitution, nevertheless are interrelated and linked with it in its second form to provide the cycle prostitution - drugs - delinquency, as a new reality firmly established as part of this system. This second form is typical for the youngest group of prostitutes. They are young heroin addicts who participate fully in the endo-culture generated by this cycle. That is to say, their world is principally one of drugs, and it is around these that they structure their every day life and their personal relationships, and on the basis of drugs that they construct their self-identity. Prostitution is of secondary importance to them, being no more than a source of income which is necessary if they are to continue being dependent on drugs. They take to prostitution when their need for heroin increases and their level of consumption-and the consequences that flow from this - cannot be met by the salary they receive from working - their job always being one which requires little or no qualifications. They come from working class families, generally immigrants, although they have now become independent of their families. The main elements in their world view are, on the one hand, a total rejection of the traditional form of life, and on the other, the need to find an individual escape, which is met by heroin. Any means which leads to this end, including prostitution, is deemed to be good.

Prostitution has a different form in the second type of area, where it takes place in clubs in working class and peripheral areas, or in American bars and massage parlours in the centre of the city. Young prostitutes are also to be found here where prostitution is carried on in an environment which is notably better, and enjoys a certain

privacy, in the sense that it is not so noticeable in the every day life of the zone, being carried on only at certain times and in specific places, which are nonetheless recognised as places of prostitution. In spite of the fact that this behaviour still transgresses the implicit norms of womanly conduct the relationship which develops with the client is closer to that considered normal between a man and a woman, since the personal involvement in such contact is much greater than in the first type. The degree to which public space becomes private, on the other hand, is much reduced because there are no strict limits established for the two sexes.

If here prostitution as a social fact has become peripheral, its effects on the prostitute herself emerge in a unique way in the personal relations of the private sphere. In these places we meet women who, in the rest of their daily lives, live out different realities, governed by a set of concepts which is clearly distinct.

On the one hand, one can find prostitutes who structure their daily lives in accordance with their work, considering it as a profession, owing to the informal work relations maintained with the owner of the establishment in which they work, and the separation of their working life from their private life. Being a prostitute is, however, the basis of their personal identity. Their family of origin is usually working class and quite frequently before they become prostitutes they had experience in low grade jobs, from which they had been dismissed; very often this was the reason why they began to work as a prostitute. The basic elements of their view of the world are as follows: rejection of any moralistic world view and resentment of the difficulties that society places in the way of a woman who wishes to live independently; on the other hand, they consider that their work is a way of improving their standard of living which enables them to fulfill the traditional roles of a woman (wife and mother).

There are other women in this second context who become involved in prostitution only from time to time, and this fact does not impinge upon their daily lives, and has no effect on their self-identity; rather it is integrated into a completely distinct way of life to the definition of which prostitution contributes nothing. Prostitution in this case signifies a swift and easy way of obtaining money to satisfy a passing need for an object of consumption. These are middle class women, generally students, who while studying live separate from their family, even though they might be economically dependent upon them. In many cases they have obtained occasional work looking after children, giving various classes, etc.; they see prostitution as having much the same significance as the other activities. Their vision of the world is free from moral pre-conceptions, and they advocate a change in inter-personal relationships which would affect both family life as well as the status of motherhood, and in general all affective relationships.

Finally, there is a new type of prostitution which is not marginalised or merely peripheral to society, because it is surrounded by sufficient social, economic, and cultural resources to protect it. This takes place in pubs and discoteques in the centre of the city, and it is a more private form of activity. It is integrated into the every day life style of the area in a way which is not defined as prostitution, but rather as simply another kind of public relationship. It is not easy to understand this form of activity since neither its public definition nor the behaviour of its actors offers sufficient elements to enable us to identify a clear flouting of the social norms attached to the role of the woman and governing relationships between

the sexes. This type of prostitution is characterised by a high degree of personal involvement between the prostitute and the client, in which the economic element predominates, and the fact that public space is not privatised. Such prostitution is integrated into society, and is not recognised as such even by the women who act in this way. Their personal identification is based upon their work role, whether it be as student, secretary, or a dependent, etc.: thus prostitution is defined as a leisure activity which provides them with access to a world of relations and consumption that their living standard does not usually permit them to enjoy. Their outlook is based on a conception of the modern and independent woman who aspires to realise herself through her family and her profession, and in this economic well being has a fundamental part to play.

PROSTITUTION: FROM THE MARGINS OF SOCIETY TO INTEGRATION

The nature of prostitution in Bilbao is now clear. What is immediately striking is the variety which exists, and this is reflected in the differences, not only of the specific ways in which it is carried out, but also in the ways of life and thinking of the prostitutes themselves; which in turn is related to the differing degrees of marginalisation to which they are subjected.

The co-existence of these realities is only explicable if we take into account the process of transition of a traditional society to a consumer society based on an ideology that does not destroy the basic fundamentals of the former, but provides them with a different meaning. In this way, the traditional role of the woman, sexuality and interpersonal and social relationships are being re-defined, giving the fact of prostitution a different meaning, which results in its taking place in new contexts and for different reasons.

The crisis which was observed in the Chinese zone is paralleled by an increase in and a flourishing of other forms of prostitution outside this zone. This would rapidly result in the disappearance of this way of life if it were not for the determination of the older prostitutes to survive, to which we must add the presence of young prostitutes who have grown up in this atmosphere, and the fact that the main centre of distribution of drugs for Bilbao has been established there, which pre-supposes the existence of young prostitutes who are heroin addicts. The Chinese zone is being turned into a sink of disease, and experiencing the decline of traditional prostitution, which nevertheless continues to attract certain customers, whose numbers are constantly diminishing, limited in many instances to those who come from idle curiosity. On the other hand, prostitution in clubs, American bars, pubs etc. is increasingly gaining in significance, and this fact may be explained by the present position of women.

The key to the interpretation of this phenomenon is to be found in the expanded definitions of the terms 'prostitution' and 'woman'. The meaning of prostitution in traditional society is quite different from that which it has in consumer society.

In the former the social order is interpreted and founded on Catholic morality, where everything is deemed to be good or evil in a single and fixed way so that reality is dichotomised. As far as women are concerned, the prostitute provides a negative definition which transgresses the moral law to such an extent, based as it is on a definition of sexuality as something sinful, that the only possibility that is open is for the prostitute to be removed to the periphery of society. No global interpretation of the phenomenon of prostitution would be possible in this type of society without taking into account the class structure, since it is not by chance that the women who

become prostitutes originate in the lowest strata. The same is true with regard to the punishment (of eviction from home) which is meted out for failure to comply with a certain moral norm which is established for women; it is a necessary but not sufficient cause for her being initiated into this kind of work, since although the same punishment may be applied to higher class women, the latter have sufficient resources to disguise their transgressions, thus preventing themselves from ending up as prostitutes.

For its part, consumer society breaks with the dichotomous view, adopting a broader spectrum of reality and meaning; this is reflected in a greater tolerance of sexuality, and in a diversity of potential roles for women. This results in the reduction of the stigma applied to prostitution, which now no longer necessarily entail marginalisation in spite of the fact that it continues to have negative connotations.

Consumer ideology, following the principle of rationality, reifies sexual relations, as it reifies personal relations of all kinds. Thus the social environment is finally changed. The requirement that people should fulfill the social command that "thou shalt become sexually involved with another" is changed to another which underlies relations of social consumption and which imposes the quest of pleasure, which is deemed to be the final goal of sex. In this way the negation of pleasure which is characteristic of traditional society is replaced by another way of thinking. Here relationships are reduced to the achieving of sexual release by means of maintaining a number of personal relations limited to the sexual sphere. This kind of relationship between the sexes is most clearly to be seen in the world of public relationships, which tends to establish itself as dominant in this kind of society.

The idea that sex is interchangeable means that prostitution no longer has the same social stigma as before, although there is still a residue of this since the view that sex may be translated into a consumer object has not met with approval. In this way the degree to which prostitution is viewed as anti-social is minimised and it becomes integrated into the culture which is at present dominant, for this purpose adopting a form which is perfectly assimilable in the case of its upper class clientele, and to a lesser extent becoming professionalised in the club and the American bar.

In the final instance, the meaning which prostitution has here is due, on the one hand, not so much to the narrowness of the conception of the role of the woman as to the economic aspect which arises from the disequilibrium between the expectations aroused by the system and what is actually possible; and on the other hand, it is due to the prestige conferred mainly on the man when he participates in a circle of public relations devoted to leisure, independent of any familial framework.

The actors whose behaviour creates the reality of prostitution no longer belong only to the lowest classes, but come also from the middle classes. In the latter case, moral stigma and exclusion has no bearing on the decision whether to become prostitutes or not; rather this decision is taken on economic grounds: in some cases it provides compensation for the absence of any job which might provide for the bare necessities of life, this being due to the economic crisis which affects women especially; in other instances, it is linked to an increased demand for consumer power in order to buy drugs or objects considered as luxuries. These same motivations explain why young women take up prostitution.

From all this it will be clear that, faced with the need to interpret and adopt a clear attitude to the phenomenon of prostitution, it is necessary to pay attention, not only to the various forms that it might adopt at any given moment of time, but, more fundamentally, to the elements which comprise each one of those historical manifestations, and to the significance that is assigned to these elements by society. If, as we have seen, the explanation of the phenomenon of prostitution is to be sought in the definition of woman provided by the patriarchal ideology, on the basis of her sexual function, the concrete form that it takes in each type of society is directly related to the social structure of that society.

To abolish prostitution would require a definitive and radical change in the definition of women, which would only be possible if this change affected society as a whole, both with regard to its structure and on the level every day life.

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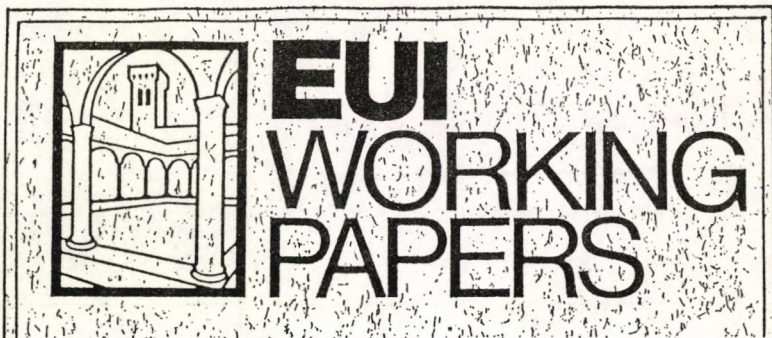
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